

## Message Text

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PAGE 01     SECTO 04150 01 OF 03 241243Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----039461 241245Z /14

O O 240137Z APR 78 ZFF-6  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 SECTO 4150

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

C O R R E C T E D   C O P Y (PARA 3. LINE SIX ADDED)

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)  
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: FIVE POWER FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING

1. SECRETARY VANCE AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF UK,  
FRG, FRANCE AND CANADA MET TODAY APRIL 23 AT CARLTON  
HOUSE, AT A WORKING DINNER TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA, PARTICULAR-  
LY THE RESPONSE WHICH THE MINISTERS MIGHT PROVIDE THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA ON THE QUESTION OF  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL. THE MEETING OF THE  
MINISTERS FOLLOWED AN EXTENDED MEETING OF THE CONTACT  
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GROUP PRESENT IN LONDON AND WAS BASED ON THE PAPERS  
PREPARED BY THE GROUP.

2. THE MINISTERS CONSIDERED VARIOUS FORMULATIONS FOR  
MEETING SOUTH AFRICA'S SECURITY CONCERNS ARISING FROM  
THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE FROM  
NAMIBIA. SPECIFICALLY, THEY CONSIDERED GIVING THE

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THE POWER TO RETAIN SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES, SECURITY ASSURANCES WHICH MIGHT BE PROVIDED BY FIVE GOVERNMENTS, AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES. THE MINISTERS CONCLUDED THAT THEY SHOULD MAKE NO CHANGE IN THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE AS WOULD BE REQUIRED WERE THE POWERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO BE ENLARGED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY AGREED TO INCLUDE IN THE STATEMENT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS BY FOREIGN SECRETARY JAMIESON (CANADA) SPECIFIC PARAGRAPHS ON THE SECURITY OF NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITION. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THESE PARAGRAPHS, ALONG WITH ORAL DISCUSSION POINTS REJECTING THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE POWERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WOULD BE PRESENTED TO FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA BY SIR DAVID SCOTT AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE 8 P.M. SOUTH AFRICAN TIME ON APRIL 24. SCOTT, WHO WILL BE ACTING ALONE IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE PUBLICITY, WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO RESTRICT HIS PRESENTATION TO THE ORAL TALKING POINTS TRANSMITTED BELOW. HE WILL ALSO IMPRESS UPON BOTHA THAT THERE IS TO BE NO PUBLIC OR PRIVATE USE OF SCOTT'S PRESENTATION PRIOR TO THE DELIVERY OF JAMIESON'S SPEECH NOW SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY AT MID-DAY NEW YORK TIME ON APRIL 25.

3. WALVIS BAY. IN LIGHT OF APRIL 23 RAPPORT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ON POSSIBLE US SUPPORT FOR SWAPO CLAIMS TO WALVIS BAY, SCOTT WILL BE PREPARED TO STATE THAT THE POSITION CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE FIVE REMAINS AS COMMUNICATED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON APRIL 30 AND THAT WE WILL SO STATE IN THE JAMIESON SPEECH. FYI: YOU SHOULD BE AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME THE US AND THE OTHER FOUR GOVERNMENTS ARE PREPARED, AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED, TO INDICATE THAT WE BELIEVE THE RELEVANT FACTORS ARE SUCH THAT THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE THE INCLUSION OF WALVIS BAY IN NAMIBIA. END FYI.

4. PRESS. IN RESPONSE TO PRESS INQUIRIES THE MINISTERS AGREED TO STATE THAT THEY MET TO DISCUSS THE GENERAL QUESTION OF NAMIBIA IN LIGHT OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN VANCE AND OWEN AND SOME OF THE PARTIES. THEY WOULD ALSO STATE THAT THEY REVIEWED THE SPEECH WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER JAMIESON WOULD MAKE ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS ON TUESDAY APRIL 25.

5. FOLLOWING IS RELEVANT SECTION OF JAMIESON'S SPEECH REGARDING SECURITY: FREE ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD IN CONDITIONS OF REPRESSION; NEITHER CAN THEY BE HELD IN CONDITIONS OF INSECURITY AND INTIMIDATION. UNTIL AN

INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA ASSUMES RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS OWN  
SECURITY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST INSIST THAT  
THERE BE ADEQUATE MEANS TO ASSURE LAW AND ORDER AND THE

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON  
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 SECTO 04150

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

OVERALL SECURITY OF THE TERRITORY. THUS THE PROPOSAL  
CALLS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILE ACTS.  
IT MAKES PROVISION FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER  
INCLUDING THE INTRODUCTION OF A SUBSTANTIAL UN MILITARY  
CONTINGENT COMBINED WITH THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL  
BUT L,500 SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIERS, RESTRICTED TO ONE OR  
TWO BASES AND MONITORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS PENDING  
THEIR WITHDRAWAL. WE WOULD ARGUE FOR A FIRM AND SPECIFIC  
MANDATE TO ALLOW THE UN FORCETO TAKE ALL NECESSARY  
MEASURES TO ENSURE OBSERVANCE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE  
AGREEMENT.

6. WE BELIEVE THESE PROVISION ARE ADEQUATE FOR SECURITY.  
BUT THEY WILL OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO BE APPLIED IN THE LIGHT OF  
DEVELOPING CONDITIONS. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE PARTIES

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AND THE SURROUNDING STATES WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO ASSURE THAT THE SECURITY PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSAL ARE STRICTLY ADHERED TO. FOR OUR PART AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WE WOULD VIEW WITH GRAVE CONCERN ANY ACTIONS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD THAT COULD THREATEN THE SECURITY OF NAMIBIA AND ITS PROMPT ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE AND WOULD ACT ACCORDINGLY. END EXCERPT.

7. FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS TO BE USED BY SIR DAVID SCOTT ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES, POWERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, AND WALVIS BAY.

A. WE HAVE NOTED YOUR CONCERNS REGARDING SECURITY CONDITIONS IN NAMIBIA AND YOUR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE PROVISION IN OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR L,500-MAN RESIDUAL FORCE ONE WEEK AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF ELECTIONS.

B. WE WISH TO RECALL THAT THE PROVISIONS REGARDING THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES, AND THE RETENTION OF A RESIDUAL FORCE FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD, WERE DEVELOPED TO MEET WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO ANY SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE AFTER THE START OF THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. THUS, ANY CHANGE NOW MAY RESULT IN DEMANDS THAT THE ENTIRE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL PACKAGE BE RENEGOTIATED.

C. YOU HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NEWLY-ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MIGHT CALL FOR THE RETENTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN NAMIBIA AND HAVE ASKED WHAT OUR REACTION TO THIS DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE. IN OUR ORAL STATEMENT TO YOU OF MARCH 30, WE ACKNOWLEDGED

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON  
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THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MIGHT EXPRESS THEIR  
OPINION ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES. THE  
FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE SUCH VIEWS CAREFULLY INTO  
ACCOUNT AND WOULD EXPECT OTHERS TO DO THE SAME, BUT  
ONLY ON THE STRICT UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS WOULD NOT  
RESULT IN ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD IMPERIL THE ATTAINMENT  
OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE MANNER ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSAL.  
HOWEVER, WE MUST ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE CONSTITUENT  
ASSEMBLY MIGHT RAISE OTHER QUESTIONS INCLUDING THE CON-  
TINUED PRESENCE OF UN FORCES, THE INTRODUCTION OF  
FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY, AND EVEN THE ROLE OF  
THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL HIMSELF. ACCORDINGLY WE DO  
NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE TO ANYONE'S ADVANTAGE TO  
HAVE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY CONCERN ITSELF WITH MATTERS  
OTHER THAN THE DRAFTING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

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D. WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR CONCERNS OVER THE SECURITY  
SITUATION IN NAMIBIA FOLLOWING THE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR  
RESIDUAL FORCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONDITIONS OF  
PEACE WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM THE ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PRO-  
POSAL, PLUS THE INTRODUCTION OF A UNITED NATIONS FORCE,  
WILL SERVE TO ENSURE STABILITY. WE WOULD ARGUE FOR A  
/  
FIRM AND SPECIFIC MANDATE TO ALLOW THE UN FORCE TO TAKE

THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO ENSURE OBSERVANCE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, AFTER YOUR TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN, SOUTH AFRICA WILL CONTINUE UNDER OUR PROPOSAL TO HAVE SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, INCLUDING THE EXISTING POLICE FORCES AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE HEADED BY JUSTICE STEYN. NOTHING PREVENTS THE AUGMENTATION OF THE POLICE FORCE BY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL IN COOPERATION WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD THEY DECIDE THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION SO REQUIRES SIMILARLY IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ASK THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO SEEK AUGMENTATION OF THE UN FORCE.

E. AS REGARDS THIS WHOLE QUESTION WE WOULD ASK YOU TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE RELEVANT PASSAGES IN MR. JAMIESON'S SPEECH IN WHICH WE UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY IN NAMIBIA.

F. WALVIS BAY. THE POSITION OF THE FIVE REMAINS AS SET OUT IN THE MESSAGE OF 30 MARCH. THIS POSITION IS REITERATED IN MR. JAMIESON'S SPEECH. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 apr 1978  
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**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
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**TAGS:** OVIP, CA, SF, US, UK, GE, FR, (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
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